1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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of his mother's brother).[10] Enough has been said already to indicate that in Tiwi marriage nothing was automatic. Females were given in marriage by their fathers, or (to a lesser extent) by their brothers, or (to a still lesser extent) by their sons. But fathers died and were succeeded by the men their widows remarried, and these men renamed all the widow's children, and by renaming them established some rights to make marriage decisions for the females. Therefore, cross-cousin marriage in Tiwi was merely part of the total system of marriage and had to adjust itself to the rest of the system. In theory, fathers could only bestow their infant daughters on men who stood to them in the relation of sisters' sons. Conversely, every man who received a bestowed wife received her from a man who was technically his mother's brother and of course the girl's father. To this extent the Tiwi were a tribe who practiced cross-cousin marriage and their kinship system belonged to one of the commonest Australian types, that which Radcliffe-Brown called Type I, having investigated it among the mainland tribe called the Kariera.[11] But a kinship system of the Kariera type could not accommodate all the complexities that had been introduced into Tiwi life by the emphasis on infant bestowal and widow remarriage. In particular, the generations kept getting badly mixed up, as for instance in the very common case of old men bestowing their infant daughters on other old men of their own age group, and in return receiving as infant wives (or wards) daughters of those old men. With this happening constantly, it was difficult to maintain the kinship principle that recipients of wives were always sons of the donor's sister and donors were always brothers of the recipient's mother. Which was mother's brother and which was sister's son in the case of two old men busily swapping daughters was a problem that put a severe strain on a Kariera-type kinship system. And widow remarriage introduced further complexities. We have already mentioned the case of two young men, Antonio and Dominico, who through a judicious use of widow-remarriage had ended up married to each other's elderly mothers. This was no isolated case; many pairs of men of like age were married to each other's mothers. Who called whom "father" and who called whom "son" became an insoluble riddle in such cases.

To avoid further involvement in the labyrinthine complexities of Australian kinship organization, all that we need say here is that the Tiwi had unscrambled the potential confusion introduced into their kinship categories by inventing a few new terms which, superimposed upon their Kariera-type system, kept everything straight. In Kariera, and generally among all the mainland tribes, no kinship distinction was made between potential wife and actual wife or between potential "in-laws" and actual "in-laws." A Kariera male called all the girls who were eligible for marriage to him by the same term (*Nuba*, usually translated mother's brother's daughter); all the fathers of such girls

[10] The definitive work on Australian kinship systems is Radcliffe-Brown 1930-31, and there is a large technical literature on the subject. See also Elkin 1951; Berndt 1955 and 1957; Murdock 1949.

[11] See Radcliffe-Brown 1913.

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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601 by the same term (*Kaga*, usually translated as mother's brother); and all the mothers of such girls by the same term (*Toa*, usually translated father's sister or mother's brother's wife). When he married one of these girls he still called her *Nuba*, he still called his wife's father *Kaga*, and still called his wife's mother *Toa*. But not in Tiwi. For them, all potential wives were, in theory, mothers' brothers' daughters and all potential wives' fathers were mothers' brothers. But when a man married any such girl, he immediately called her by a new and different kinship term which can only be translated as "wife," and corresponding new and separate terms were used for the actual wife's father, actual wife's mother, and even for the actual wife's father's sister. Thus marriage introduced for a Tiwi a new set of relatives with new kinship terms different from those he used toward his general run of cross-cousins, mother's brothers, father's sisters, and so on, and these "relatives by actual marriage" terms, being based on actual marriages rather than kinship categories, were capable of handling in a fairly orderly manner all the complexities introduced into Tiwi domestic life by such customs as old men exchanging infant daughters or young men marrying each other's mothers. We may sum it up briefly by saying that Tiwi marriages operated within a general framework of cross-cousin marriage kinship categories identical with the 152 categories of the Kariera, but that females had become such important assets 582 in power and prestige relationships among the senior men—marriage had become, 601 so to speak, such a political affair—that a new set of kinship terms based on actual marriages had to be superimposed on the terms geared to cross-cousin marriage; in cases of conflict or anomaly or confusion in the cross-cousin terms, the terms based on actual marriages were controlling or took precedence. Which is only another way of saying that in theory all Tiwi marriages were rather idealistically approximated to marriages between cross-cousins, but in practice they departed quite far from such an ideal; so far, in fact, that extra kinship terms had been introduced to take care of the relationships created by such departures.

"Disputed" Wives

588 There is still one more category of wives to be mentioned, a category for which the Tiwi had no name in their own language but which in pidgin English they referred to as "stolen" wives. A few women so labeled were likely to turn up in the "list" of the wives of most big men, but analysis of the circumstances in each case makes it clear that "stolen" was an unsuitable label and that wives so designated were most often in a status that should be called either "disputed" or "shared." In legal terms they were wives in which there was or had been a divided interest. To explain fully the nature of these cases would carry us over into both the Tiwi legal and sexual systems, and here we are trying to confine our analysis to those aspects of marriage that have consequences for household organization. Since these disputed or shared wives had

3: Hart E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 OI20 Tiwi OI20

The territory of the *Tiklauila* is roughly contained in the area in the south of Bathurst Island, south of Point Hurd and west of *Mukambrimo*, which is a river about eight miles to the west of the mission station. In this area, roughly about two hundred square miles, there are a number of districts with specific names. Anyone familiar with the Australian blackfellow knows how certain districts are given certain names, and although no native can tell the exact boundaries, everyone in the tribe knows when he has come into one of these districts and when he has left it. The principle of differentiation of these areas seems to be upon the basis of the physical aspect of the country, a valley for example having a distinct name from either set of hills surrounding it, a plain being distinguished from a thickly-wooded piece of bushland on its margin, and so on.

These districts play an important part in Tiwi land ownership. Certain districts are not owned by the horde as a whole, but by a single family of that horde. Thus in the horde we are considering, *Tanio*, the extensive district in the extreme south-western corner of the island around Cape Fouveroy, is owned by a single set of men, all of whom are the son's sons of *Mikidjimirla*, a man who as far as can be judged died about 1870-1880. The basis of their title is the fact that *Mikidjimirla* died and was buried in the district, hence all the game and fruit in *Tanio* belong to them, and cannot be hunted or collected by anyone else without their consent.

The question immediately arises as to whether the mere burial of a man in a district gives his heirs property rights in that district. The Tiwi answer is that it always does if the man was sufficiently important. The man in question here, *Mikidjimirla*, was from all accounts one who left a deep impression on the society of his time both by his personality and by his prowess in warfare. More than that he left his mark on following generations by the number of children he had. At the present time, there are nine men, all grandchildren of *Mikidjimirla*, in whom the hunting and fruit-collecting rights of *Tanio* are vested, and these men and their families normally camp in *Tanio* and deny the right of other *Tiklauila* families to hunt there. This group has a solidarity of its own which is expressed by a name *Taniauwila*, which is one of the alternative horde-names. It should be noted in this connection that the Tiwi name for father's father is *amini*, and the members of this group will frequently

3: Hart E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 OI20 Tiwi OI20

refer to one another as *ŋia yirt'amini* (my "one grandfather") in preference to *ŋi'iwuni* (my brother), or *ŋia kalipini* (my half-brother), which is the normal term of address.

A member of another horde found trespassing upon the territory of the *Tiklauila* would be killed immediately unless he had been invited for a corroboree or some such festival. A member of the same horde who, not belonging to the *yirt'amini* group, trespasses in *Taŋio* would not be put to death, but he and his relatives would become embroiled in a serious quarrel with the group.

Taŋio is the best example of this peculiar institution because being in an out-of-the-way peninsula no one needs to go there except people who have a right there. Consequently the *Taŋiauwila* can exercise a much stricter supervision and hence as a matter of fact guard their rights more jealously than the people with such rights over districts that lie upon the main roads of the two islands. Nevertheless the whole of *Tiklaru* is divided into such districts and the whole of the *Tiklauila* into such *yirt' amini* groups.

Thus bordering on the *Taŋiauwila* to the east, we find the *Arupula* who have similar hunting and food-collecting rights over *Arupi*, the coastal district in the middle of the south coast of Bathurst Island. The origin of their title is lost in obscurity inasmuch as nobody to-day knows who the ancestor was or exactly where is the grave that gave them such a right. Nor is the *Arupula* title respected as much as is the *Taŋiauwila* partly because *Arupi* is crossed by several "high-roads"—notably the only road to *Taŋio* from the east, and the *Wraŋgwila* road to the Mission Station —but even more because the present representatives of the *Arupula* are either uninitiated youths or peaceful old men.

This introduces what is perhaps the main factor in the perpetuation of this institution—the power of the *yirt'amini* groups to enforce their rights. The ownership of a particular territory by a horde and the punishment of trespass upon it can always be enforced because there is always a certain number of fighting men in the horde. Hence horde-ownership is respected. In the *yirt' amini* group, however, periods frequently occur when the group is not strong enough to enforce its claims, and unless the claims are constantly brought under the notice of the rest of the horde they are ignored. The result is that unless the family gets a new lease of life by boys growing up into formidable warriors, such a

9:Harney & Elkin E-4, 5 (ca. 1940)1943 OI20 Tiwi OI20

Each of these *emuya*, sometimes called Pukui (sun),[1] has a number of cult centres and in them resides the "old woman" of the clan; these are also called *emuya*. The sacred site of the Tukambani clan is at Morapeanga, Cape Keith; of the Miatui, Irapulanwa, Buchanan Island in the Apsley Straits; of the Kudjali, Padupi; Sanke Bay, or as the natives say in their quaint pidjin, Djenakaba, which is on the north of Melville Island, an old trepang site.

As far as could be ascertained, no fixed belief is associated with these clan centres. They are not burial caves invested with a ritual significance such as we find in parts of the mainland (Wadaman and other tribes), yet the shade or spirit of the dead does follow the track made by the natives as they come from the sacred centre to "show it the road." Only some natives know this. It is probably a ritual that has become lost with the advent of new ideas.

Clan Relationship. To marry within a major clan or phratry, *aramipi*, is taboo, *himiyari*. A person of one phratry can only marry into the other two major clans. Thus, all Tukambani and their kindred sub-clans are mother, mother's brother, mother's mother, mother's mother's brother, sister's son and daughter, brother and sister. They call people in the other two clans father, father's sister, son, daughter, wife, wife's brother, wife's mother, wife's mother's brother, wife's mother's mother and wife's mother's brother. In other words, descent is matrilineal.

Marriage Law. The marriage law is the same as in most tribes: a man marries his mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter or, as the natives would say, "a man marries his group sister's son's daughter." They have equal exchange in marriage, that is "opposite brothers exchange sisters." An "uncle" (mother's brother) takes his (group) nephew's daughter, and the group nephew receives the uncle's daughter in exchange (cross-cousin type). There are neither subsections nor sections and indeed, no moieties. A reason may be suggested for this: being isolated on the island, each person knew his or her relationship to the others, and as there was no intertribal exchange, the need for this type of classification never arose. One of the important functions of the section and subsection systems is to facilitate intercourse between tribal groups.

The marriage system with relationship terms is explained in the following table:

		1		2
A	.. *ubunga* m.m.m.m. or sr.	*UWANI* M.M.M.M.B. or B. (Ego)	*yarbunaiya* w.	*YANUMINI* W.B.
B	.. *yamoriy* m.m.m.	*YARMURDI* M.M.M.B.	*umbreniwa* w.m.	*YAPINAWINI* W.M.B.
C	.. *imaninga* m.m.	*IMANANI* M.M.B.	*tumaliya* w.m.m.	*TAMALITI* W.M.M.B.
D	.. *inari* m.	*ILAMANI* M.B.	*umarani* w.m.m.m.	*IMERANINGA* W.M.M.M.B.
A	.. *ubunga* sr.	*UWANE* B.	*yabunaiya* w.	*YANUMINI* W.B.

[1] These natives have numerous names for the same object, the result of the taboo on certain words after a death.

9:Harney & Elkin E-4, 5 (ca. 1940) 1943 OI20 Tiwi OI20

All those in number one group belong to the same clan, and are " opposite " to those of number two group, who also belong to one clan. The lines A, B, C and D are intermarrying groups, i.e. Ego marries his *yabunaiya*, etc.

Of course, relationship terms also include others denoting the type of relation or blood tie. For instance, a mother's brother or a sister's son (group) when distantly related to Ego could be his father-in-law and would then be called *YUNARENIWA*. A true father is *ERINGANI*, a father's sister, *yananiya* ; father's father *ARMINI* ; father's mother, *armma* ; mother's brother's own daughter, *yamuina*, and one son, *YAMUWANINI*[4] ; half brother is *INGULABINI* and a half-sister *inguleba*.[5]

This system of marriage is not unlike the Murngin and Anula system and also is the same as the *wadji wadji* (wrong side marriage) of the Mudbara. In one, cross-cousins—not *inguleba*—can marry, while in the true Mudbara cross-cousin marriage is prohibited.

Rites. The rituals centre around the Kulama. The underlying principle of this is to ensure that the Kulama (a small hot yam that embodies the spirit of the " old woman " and guardian of the horde) is cooked correctly, for this ensures her protection against Maradji, the rainbow snake, another old woman who can cause evil to come upon them and " swallow them " up. It is performed during the wet season by each family, and is said to bring about a plentiful supply of food. The Kulama is also used to pass the initiates, both male and female, from a lower to a higher order in the social scale, although I myself could not see that any important results were obtained by the initiates through the ritual.[6]

Some result, or at least protection, however, is obtained : if the Kulama is not sung or danced at the prescribed time or place, the Marakarti (spear grass) and also the ring used for cooking the Kulama yams at the ritual, would give rise to a poison, *Tani*, which would pass into the air and cause sickness ; perhaps a youth who had not passed through the Kulama would sicken and die. On the other hand, a youth who has passed through the ritual may gain a certain satisfaction by believing that he can drive the sickness away and protect the family. In addition, the Kulama is not only an increase ritual for yams ; in it the father also " sings " the name of his child in a form of song, *apa*, and foretells in a dream that a certain spirit " shade " will be incarnated through one of his wives at some future date ; for these children are waiting at that " spirit dreaming " place called Bilawuwi. In other words, it is a human increase ritual.

[4] These are true cousins and cannot marry.

[5] This *inguleba* native is the term for persons who are taboo to Ego ; they cannot approach Ego's wives, as their sweat must not touch. They are people who are " out of line " in relationship. For instance, if a Kudjarli man marries two women, one a Tukambani and the other a Miatui, his children would be of two different *pukui* or totems. These children, half-brothers and half-sisters, are *inguleba* to each other.

[6] It is unlike the Karawadi of the subincised people, in which the initiate is freed of certain food taboos, and again in the Kudidjingara, through which the old men receive magical power to levy tribute from the young people of the tribe, who have not passed through that ritual.

10:Goodale E-5 (1954) 1962 OI20 Tiwi OI20

is desirous of starting his household has inherited the right of arranging his mother's remarriage, he may well enter into a contract involving an exchange of mothers with another youth in a similar position. While a son is accorded this right, I suspect that in many of the cases of mother exchange the real arrangers are the mothers.

Tiwi Kinship Terminology

For the sake of the record, I present herewith the kinship terms which I collected in 1954. It must be understood that my major informants on the classification of kin were women. Although most of the terms were also checked with male informants, through oversight this was not done in a few instances. Although a full discussion of the terminology would perhaps be valuable, limitations of time and space compel me to limit my comments to matters directly pertinent to my discussion of the marriage system. Unless otherwise indicated, all the terms listed are employed by male as well as female speakers.

Sibling Terminology

1 *iwuni:* elder brother. Affinal application: WiSiHu, MoBrDaHu (ws).
2 *iwini:* younger brother. Affinal application: WiSiHu, FaSiDaHu (ms).
3 *imbunga:* elder sister. Affinal application: HuBrWi, MoBrSoWi (ws).
4 *imboka:* younger sister. Affinal application: HuBrWi, FaSiSoWi (ms).
5 *inggalabini:* half brother (see discussion below).
6 *inggalabunga:* half sister (see discussion below).

The regular sibling terms (1 to 4) are differentiated on the basis of sex and relative age, and they are extended on Ego's generation to all parallel cousins, including remote ones. A special set of terms (5 and 6) is restricted to some siblings and parallel cousins. The criterion for their differentiation, as stated by the Tiwi, is that they refer to half siblings by the same father whose mothers belong to different matrisibs. The only parallel cousins to whom they apply, I believe, are first cousins; distant parallel cousins are definitely called by the regular sibling terms (1 to 4) regardless of their sib affiliations.

The terms for full siblings are also extended to certain collateral relatives on the second ascending and descending generations. Thus the distant parallel cousins of MoMo and FaFa are called by the terms for elder sibling, *iwuni* or *imbunga*, and the distant parallel cousins of SoCh (ms), DaCh (ws), SiDaCh (ms), and BrDaCh (ws) are called *iwini* or *imboka* (younger brother or sister).

Cross-cousin Terminology

7 *imbuni.* Affinal application only: Hu, HuBr, SiHu (ws), WiBr.
8 *imbuninga.* Affinal application only: Wi, WiSi, BrWi (ms), HuSi.
9 *mamaninga* (or *mamanini*): MoBrSo (ws), FaSiSo (ws). Affinal application: "SI" Hu (ws). My data are inconclusive as to whether male speakers use this and the following term in the same way.
10 *mamunga:* MoBrDa (ws), FaSiDa (ws). Affinal application: "Br" Wi (ws).

601 582 It became apparent to me, when I was collecting kinship terminology, that actual genealogical connection was an important factor in Tiwi kin classification and also, of course, in determining expected behavior. It is perhaps for this reason that I have always viewed the system of preferential marriage as concerned with actual second cross-cousins rather than with classificatory cross-cousins however distantly removed. First cross-cousins are definitely considered a "little-bit-wrong-way." Unfortunately my actual genealogies are too few and too shallow to shed much statistical light on the problem. It has also occurred to me that with extreme polygyny and obligatory remarriage there should be more first and second cross-cousins available to Ego than with monogamy or limited polygyny.

601 With their strong preference for unilateral cross-cousin marriage it might be expected that the Tiwi would have a Sudanese type of cousin terminology in which cross-cousins would be terminologically differentiated on the basis of whom one could and could not marry. When I phrased this question to my women informants, however, I could find no such discrimination. Women do, nevertheless, make a terminological distinction between cross-cousins to whom they are technically married before birth and those whom they may marry in the future when and if their Type A contract lapses.

585 881 Here I must interject some additional ethnographic information. At the conclusion of a girl's puberty ceremony, she returns to the camp of her husband (*imbunei*), where she is painted. Then her husband and his brothers, all of whom she also calls *imbunei*, line up with the youngest first and the actual husband last. One by one they hit her with a feather pompom (*tokwiinga*) until the husband's turn arrives. At this point the girl runs, and her husband pursues her, catches her, and makes her kneel by a tree, which is marked. I have chosen to regard this ritual as a marriage ceremony in which the Type A contract is finally validated with all its ramifications. The [582] fact that the husband's brothers are terminologically classed even at this time with the actual husband and play a part in the marriage ceremony may be regarded as validating the continuance of the Type A contract through successive remarriages (of Type A2) to the younger brothers of the original holder of the contract.

587 601 If a woman survives all her *imbunei*, she becomes eligible to marry any of her other cross-cousins, either matrilateral or patrilateral, through contracts of Types B, C, or D. It is these cross-cousins, who did not become auxiliary "husbands" under her Type A contract, to whom she applies the term *mawaninya* or its variant, *mawanini*.

601 ## *Terminology in the First Ascending Generation*

11 *iringani:* father; also FaBr, FaFaSo, FaFaBrSo, MoMoFa, MoMoFaBr. Affinal application: MoHu, MoMoMoHu, HuMoBr.

12 *ingaari:* mother; also MoSi, MoMoDa, MoMoSiDa, FaFaSiDa. Affinal application: FaWi, MoMoFaWi, HuFaSi.

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13 *ilimani:* mother's brother; also MoMoSo, MoMoSiSo, MoFaFa. Affinal application: HuFa, FaSiHu, MoFaMoHu. 601

14 *intinganinga:* father's sister; also FaFaDa, FaFaSiDa, MoFaSiDa. Affinal application: HuMo, "MoBr" Wi.

15 *timandinga:* classificatory "father's sister"; also MoMoBrDa. Affinal application: MoBrWi, WiMo (before contract).

16 *ambrinua:* wife's mother (after contract); also DaHu (ws) after contract.

While the Tiwi make no terminological distinction between an actual and a classificatory MoBr (*ilimani*), they do distinguish between an actual FaSi (*intinganinga*), with whom the wife of a classificatory MoBr is classed, and a classificatory "FaSi" (*timandinga*) who is the wife of an actual MoBr. Female informants say: "We cannot marry the son of a real mother's brother, but a long-way mother's brother's son is all right." Male informants phrase the rule differently: "We cannot marry the daughter of a real father's sister; we call our mother-in-law *timandinga* before the contract and *ambrinua* afterwards." This terminology, together with the informants' statements, rather clearly implies unilateral cross-cousin marriage. 582 601

Terminology in the First Descending Generation

17 *imrani:* son (ms); also BrSo (ws), MoBrDaSo, DaDaSo (ms), BrDaDaSo (ws). Affinal application: DaHu (ws) before contract, SiDaHu (ms), SiDaDaDaHu (ms), DaDaDaHu (ws). 601

18 *imeranga:* daughter (ms); also BrDa (ws), MoBrDaDa, DaDaDa (ms), BrDaDaDa (ws). Affinal application: SoWi (ws), SiSoWi (ms) DaDaSoWi (ws), SiDaDaSoWi (ms).

19 *morti:* son (ws); also SiSo (ms), DaDaSo (ws), SiDaDaSo (ms). Affinal application: DaHu (ms), BrDaHu (ws), DaDaDaHu (ms), BrDaDaDaHu (ws), MoBrDaDaHu.

20 *maringa:* daughter (ws); also SiDa (ms), DaDaDa (ws), SiDaDaDa (ms). Affinal application: SoWi (ms), BrSoWi (ws), DaDaSoWi (ms), MoBrDaSoWi.

Although the terms appropriate to the first ascending and first descending generations are in general kept distinct, they are to some extent interchangeable when warranted by differences in relative age and the behavior associated therewith.

The applications of the terms *morti* and *maringa*, in contrast to those of the terminology in the first ascending generation, suggest a rule of bilateral cross-cousin marriage with sister exchange. The rest of my analysis, however, indicates a strong preference for unilateral cross-cousin marriage and the impossibility of sister exchange in Type A contracts. The seeming inconsistencies may, of course, reflect a period of uncompleted change in social structure, but this lies outside the province of the present paper, which is concerned with showing how the system operates today. 182 582 583

Terminology in the Second Ascending Generation

21 *amini:* mother's father; also MoFaBr, FaMoBr. Affinal application: MoMoHu, FaMaSiHu. 601

22 *ama:* father's mother; also FaMoSi, MoFaSi. Affinal application: MaFaWi, MoMoBrWi.

10:Goodale E-5 (1954) 1962 O120 Tiwi O120

601 23 *angamani:* father's father; also FaFaBr, MoMoBr. Affinal application: MaMoHu, MoFaSiHu.

24 *imaninga:* mother's mother; also MoMoSi, FaFaSi. Affinal application: MoFaWi, FaMoBrWi.

Unlike *amini* and *ama*, the terms *angamani* and *imaninga* are not indefinitely extended collaterally, the more distant collateral kin being classed as elder siblings, i.e., *iwuni* or *imbunga*.

Terminology in the Second Descending Generation

25 *inimini:* daughter's son (ms); also BrDaSo (ws). Affinal application: DaDaHu (ws), SiDaDaHu (ms), "Si"Hu.

26 *inimunga:* daughter's daughter (ms); also BrDaDa (ws). Affinal application: DaSoWi (ws), SiDaSoWi (ms), "Br"Wi.

27 *intamili:* daughter's child (ws); also SiDaCh (ms). Affinal application: DaDaHu (ms), DaSoWi (ms), BrDaDaHu (ws), BrDaSoWi (ws). This term is used self-reciprocally and is quite often replaced by sibling terms (*iwini* or *imboka*) for distant kin.

Exchange Between Descent Groups

582 614 Consideration of symmetrical versus asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage is but one way of looking at the Tiwi marriage system. Let us now look at marriage as a system of exchange between descent groups and between local groups.

From both the male and female points of view, the preferred marriage is to a member of Ego's father's matrilineal sib. Of all the marriages I recorded in 1954, 66 per cent were to members of the father's matrisib, and there was no significant difference by sex. These figures were substantiated by statements from informants expressing the preference for the exchange of spouses between two sibs. As in some of the kinship terminology, there is no indication here of asymmetry in the system.

Let us examine some of the ethnographic ramifications of sib exchange. Though a girl can be said to marry into her father's sib, it is more correct to view this as a marriage into her mother's father's sib, for it is her actual MoFa who arranges her Type A marriage, and this man is obligated to the men of his sib to help them acquire wives. If Ego's mother has also married correctly, then Ego's father's sib and her mother's father's sib will be the same. However, it is possible that her MoHu may not be a member of the same sib as her MoFa. This might well account for some of the 34 per cent of "incorrect" marriages in my original analysis, which only took account of the father's sib.

614 [842] [175] From the point of view of a male Ego it is also important, but for different reasons, to marry a woman of his father's sib. A man's children come to him first in a dream and are then directed by him to their proper mothers. Unborn children (*pitapitani*) already have matrilineal sib affiliations and thus must be born to mothers of the same sib. Tiwi fathers call this dreaming of children "finding," and, if a man is unable to "find" any children, his deceased father is ex-

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582 and for Tiwi fathers' statements that they can only "find" children
614 in their own country.

Today, with nonlocalized sibs, both the sib and the local group are
582 considered in the exchange of woman, which is direct with reference
614 to sibs but indirect with reference to local groups. Such exchange
621 may in some cases involve sibs and countries or *tungarima*, in others sibs and districts or subcountries. I found that approximately 50 per cent of local-group exchanges were between *tungarima* and 50 per cent within the *tungarima*.

582 With local-group exchange and unilateral cross-cousin marriage preferred and predominant, we have an indirect but circular marriage exchange system. We cannot, however, consider the entire society as being involved in a single marriage exchange system. The system is best seen from the point of view of a single male Ego, whose marriages are systematized according to rules which are society wide, but whose actual marriages are determined by past affiliations which can be and often are variable with respect to sib and local-group exchange.

That the Tiwi system is Ego-oriented is most evident when a
554 male Ego dies and his relatives foregather for his funeral ceremonies
571 (Goodale 1959). If such an Ego has lived a full life, he will be affiliated
764 at the time of his death with a number of social groups. He is affiliated by birth with a matrilineal sib. By his father's death he is affiliated with a local group and a *tungarima*, which may or may not be the same as the group with whom he currently resides; in either case he is affiliated with the latter and will be buried among them. Through marriage, Ego is likewise affiliated with one or more additional sibs and local groups.

● 601 Only those persons who belong to the several above-mentioned
764 groups with which the deceased is actually affiliated are expected to
602 honor him by attending his funeral ceremony. When death occurs, these individuals are terminologically reclassified into four categories, from the members of each of which similar behavior is expected. The spouse and spouse's siblings become *ambarui*. Cross-cousins, MoFa, FaMo, BrDaCh (ws), and SiSoCh (ms) all become *yempi*. Siblings and parallel cousins, MoMo, FaFa, BrSoCh (ws), and SiDaCh (ms), regardless of their sib affiliations, are classed together as *pudawi*. All kinsmen in the first ascending and first descending generations are classed as *unandawi*. Since, however, there is a distinct role differentiation between Fa, FaSi, and SoCh (ms), on the one hand, and Mo, MoBr, and SiCh (ms), on the other, I suspect there may be a terminological distinction which escaped me, inasmuch as these "funeral terms," with the exception of *ambarui*, are no longer in use.

Conclusion

582 In this paper I have considered the form and nature of the varying types of contracts that lead to marriage among the Tiwi. I have

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discussed the factor of relative age as a major determinant of unilateral cross-cousin marriage in the particular type of contract which is universal for first marriages among females and is also the preferred contract for males. I have also described several variant patterns of Tiwi marriage contracts and have shown that these cannot be considered as alternatives to the preferred type but rather as additional patterns which apply only to a woman's secondary marriages. These additional types of contracts are also, to some extent, conditioned by the relative ages of the participants, but the resultant form of marriage may vary from a continuance of patrilateral cross-cousin marriage to matrilateral cross-cousin marriage and even to marriage with certain relatives who are not cross-cousins. The wide variation in contracts leading to secondary marriages for women does not affect the continuance of preferred unilateral cross-cousin marriage or the exchange of wives between particular descent and local groups until the second generation after the variant marriage. Consequently, any change in the social organization of the Tiwi brought about by variations in marriage contracts is a gradual change, but it is also an inevitable and accepted form of change. The Tiwi rightly consider that as individuals they have considerable freedom in the selection of mates from almost any descent and local group and even from among a number of categories of kinsmen. Their Ego-oriented marriage system provides both stability and flexibility, and this is reflected in their system of kin classification.

NOTES

1. The field work on which this paper is based was undertaken in 1954 at the Snake Bay Native Settlement on Melville Island and was jointly financed by the National Geographic Society and the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
2. In 1959, I used the relative age of spouses in a preliminary analysis of Tiwi unilateral cross-cousin marriage (Goodale 1959). It was with considerable pleasure that I found that a similar analysis by Rose (1960) had quite independently arrived at the same conclusions. Even more interesting was the fact that in cases where I had to calculate expected ages for many of my kin relations, Rose, with more complete age data, could give the average and range in ages for the same relatives, and that in most cases his "average" and my "estimated" ages were the same or within one or two years of one another.
3. For their valuable comments, criticisms, and advice I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to Robbins Burling, Ward H. Goodenough, Edward B. Harper, Barbara S. Lane, and George P. Murdock.
4. Unfortunately, since the only age data collected in the field were for husbands and wives, I have had to use expected ages rather than average or mean ages throughout most of this paper (see note 2 above).
5. The Tiwi believe that sexual intercourse is the direct and only cause of menarche.

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